342 In constructing a house, not a single nail, wooden plug, or peg is used, but the entire structure of stakes and wickerwork is usually tied firmly together with fresh bast from the bark of a [288] fig tree or with spliced fibres of banana trunks or papyrus stalks. The height of the huts varies between two and four meters (in Ruanda as much as eight meters); the diameter is between three and six meters.

In Urundi I did not see residential huts of any other shape, but, according to Baumann, there are residential huts with a cylindrical bamboo substructure on the upper Kagera (No. 4, [343] p. 218). In Urundi I have seen these used only as storage huts in the mountains where bamboo grows.

As has already been mentioned above, each family has its own hut, and if there are several wives, each wife has her own hut. There are no special houses for bachelors, unmarried women, strangers, communal gatherings, or for specific societies. However, there are half-open roughly constructed work huts for 343 blacksmiths and smaller well-built huts for young cattle (uruhongore) and for the storage of field crops (ivikeka). The [251] storage huts are shaped like baskets, tapering toward the bottom, and are twice a person's height. They are covered with a flat, conical straw roof which is usually removable (see p. 56). All this stands on a low grate of wooden poles to protect the hut yet very close to it, there usually stand a few small spirit huts 346 778 (ikigabiro), not more than a meter high, made of straw and [782] reeds. In these the spirits are offered meat, milk, or produce of the soil in pieces of broken pots or pumpkin shells (see pp. [776] 121, 135, and Plate 18a). Another miniature hut (ikitabo) is dedicated to the chief god, Riangombe or Kiranga. One sees many more of these huts in Urundi, Uha, and Ussumbwa than in Ruanda.

364 The Barundi, and above all, the Bahutu, are far from 356 exemplifying the great cleanliness which usually prevails in the vicinity of the huts in Ruanda; [23] they throw garbage 342 next to the hut and defecate in the banana grove surrounding [514] the huts, but the coprophagous dogs and vultures, wherever they exist, make it their business to remove the worst.

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be
smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs,
and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found
in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how
refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will
cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono),
made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have
mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots
(imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water
containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or
pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden
vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
● [251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before
being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is al-
ways in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all
have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped
up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato,
akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended
in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a
bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no
spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a
broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and
when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then
formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of
the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words
"thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmi-
cally in turn.

226 exclusively the little sardine-like fish, about five centimeters long, which are called akahuso; they are found in the lake in large numbers and are attracted by the light of the torch at night. Fishing is conducted from the dugout by two men of whom one handles the net and the other rows and maintains the burning of the long reed torch (ikimuri) which forms one of the main elements of the fishing equipment. This torch is actually a long rope, 20 to 25 centimeters thick, which consists of dry reeds tied together with banana bast and is made 10 to 20 meters long depending on the requirements. The enormous bundle of reeds is placed on the bottom of the dugout so as to protrude somewhat over the front of the boat; it is then lighted at the front end, and the boat is rowed out into the lake. There the boat is anchored by means of a stone fastened to a bast rope. The small fish then swarm toward the glare of the light and are caught in the hundreds and thousands by the net which is repeatedly thrown out and pulled in, [38] and they are emptied into the boat. The still smaller fish, umuschischja, and small crustaceans and other minute creatures are caught by means of a scoop net resembling our hand nets (No. 19, p. 426 and Plate 45).

251 These two types of small fish, akahuso and umuschischja, are spread out in a wide, thin layer in the space in front of and between the huts just as they have been taken out of the boat whether still alive or dead. They dry quickly in the sun and air.

[182] A vessel filled with water is placed in the middle; it is dedicated to Imana and is supposed to keep the god kindly inclined toward fishing (No. 19, p. 427). Moreover, according to van der Burgt,

[791] the Lake Barundi have a special magician whose job it is to insure successful fishing by means of all kinds of magic rites. The

262 small dried fish, which have a pretty silvery and golden iridescence

438 and do not taste at all bad, are very popular among the natives. They are also traded to the interior insofar as fish are eaten there, which is particularly the case in northwest Urundi. I once met people from Lake Tanganyika with large baskets full of such fish at the foot of the Russiga mountains, a three days' journey from the lake.

226 Every traveler gets a vivid impression of night fishing on Lake Tanganyika, much more so, in fact, than of the other methods

241 Urundi and Ruanda where water is abundant, crowned cranes,
136 spore geese, and Nile geese are the worst enemies of the crops since they eat the young budding sprouts of beans, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, millet, etc. The Bahutu try to frighten them away by rattles and shouting. Ibises, herons, and golden plovers also abound in the swamp valleys, but they do not attack the green crops and prefer to fish for frogs, worms, and snails in the drainage ditches. In the dry quartzite regions of eastern Urundi there are only a few such swamp valleys, and consequently there are only a few of the noxious birds mentioned above.

251 Harvested produce is partly kept in baskets and sacks in the huts, but most of it is put in the basket-shaped storage huts mentioned above (p. 22) which are located near the living huts. Particularly beans, sorghum, and corn are stored in these basket-like huts. However, during the dry period ears of corn are suspended in large bundles from the fig trees surrounding the homestead. The tuberous fruit, namely, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, and arrowroot, are usually not piled up but are left in the ground until they are needed. This is another reason why the quantity grown is never large, since it would spoil otherwise.

423 I mentioned before that further expansion of agriculture in Urundi is blocked by the peculiar conditions of ownership. The situation here is quite similar to that in Ruanda. None of the agricultural Bahutu owns the land that he cultivates. All the land is the property of the king who vests his high batwale with it, who in turn vest the lower Batussi batwale (see p. 134). The mutwale distributes the individual lots of land to the Bahutu he rules, who hold it in fee. [57] The Bahutu must ask his per-
423 mission whenever they intend to work a plot of land, build a hut,
651 or clear new ground for fields. They pay him a tribute of natural products which is done only once. In addition, they pay him an
[427] annual "tithe" as a ground rent. If the annual rent is not paid at harvest time, the mutwale may punish this tardiness by evicting the person from the land. The mutwale may also demand extraordinary tributes from the Bahutu without compensating them, for example, presents for the head chief, provisions for the caravan of a European passing through, etc. The gifts or payments made

243 311 The millet fields lie chiefly on the slopes of the hills. They are hoed and seeded after the first rain. Some time later they are weeded. The main harvest takes place in the middle of the dry season. I saw a harvest in Kissaka during the latter half of July. In Nduga it was already over in August. In Mulera the harvest is said to be at the end of February and in Bgisha at the end of November and the beginning of December.

244 311 Sweet potatoes are planted in marshy lowlands and irrigated fields. They are the staple during the dry season when other supplies are exhausted and the millet is not yet ripe.

The land at the highest altitude is used for peas, although one often finds fields of peas at a lower altitude than banana groves. The highest fields I saw were on Mount Ndisa, high above the settlements, probably extending up to 2,000 meters. I could not discover the reason for the high location of these fields. [139] To judge from the surrounding country, I did not have the impression that it was so densely populated that the people were forced to lay out their fields so inconveniently. Peas and beans are harvested at the end of the rainy season.

251 Field crops, with the exception of bananas and sweet potatoes, are kept in storehouses (kigega). Millet is cut off short and left lying unthreshed until it is needed. Only then is it threshed in small quantities in mortars and winnowed by the wind on large woven shields. Bananas and sweet potatoes are brought from the plantations as needed. The bunches to be used for making beer are kept in the huts to continue ripening. Here considerable stores of other crops, especially beans and peas, are kept in large baskets (umuhiri) made air tight with cow dung.

314 Forestry. In Ruanda we can hardly speak of forest cultivation, despite intensive farming and the widespread cultivation of the land in densely populated areas where forests have shrunk to a minimum. The Muhutu is the worst enemy of the forest. He uses wood to build his huts and storehouses, his boats and tools, and to cook his food, but he does not husband it, and in this respect he is no better than the peasant of eastern Europe.

311 According to unanimous reports by the natives, the country of Ruanda is undergoing a rapid change, and deforestation is making great advances. Formerly the country is said to have been covered

342 been made, the neighbors are invited. They come and build the hut; the owner is solely concerned with serving the workmen. Some time later the door is built in the same manner.

In most cases the huts last only two or three years and must then be rebuilt.

[768] After the death of the owner, his widow occupies the hut
525 unless she goes to live with the brother of the deceased. How-
787 ever, the hut is abandoned if an ibis or a crowned crane has settled on it. If the bird of ill omen were a crane, it is pursued, and if at all possible, the house is built on the first spot where the bird settles after it has left the roof of the hut. [205] They do not pursue the ibis. In Mulera the Bahutu as well as the Batutsi are afraid of both birds.

343 Let us now turn to a brief discussion of the storehouses (kigega)
251 which are so characteristic of the Ruanda compounds.

In Kiziba where the basic diet consists of the omnipresent banana which cannot be stored, there are no supply houses. The small supplies of beans and millet are wrapped in banana leaves and hung in large bundles on the uprights of the huts. In Kissaka and the rest of Ruanda where the main diet consists of millet flour and peas and where the small supplies of bananas are used chiefly for beer, houses are necessary to store the abundant harvests.

343 The storehouses are large cylindrical baskets. They consist
285 of a layer of sticks running the length of the basket and held
251 together by a number of hoops made of bundles of sticks. This basket is supported from below by a number of wooden forks stuck into the ground, which grasp the outer hoops of the bottom of the basket.

The walls of the basket are sealed with a mixture of clay and cow dung. Under the basket is laid a pile of ashes as a protection against the eternal ravages of termites.

This large basket, two meters high and one to one and a half meters wide, is closed at the top by a straw lid sewed to a conical lattice of sticks. In Kissaka the storehouse has no door, so the roof lid must be removed when supplies are put in or taken out.

251 Millet is usually stored in the form of clipped ears. Once, however, I saw an unusual instance in Kissaka of unthreshed millet

251 being stored in an empty hut. This must have been a temporary arrangement to counter the danger of termites.

In Ruanda some of the supplies are kept in the hut. Here, however, they do not use banana leaves but baskets sealed with cow dung. The baskets hold up to 50 kilograms.

In northern and western Ruanda there are often pits in the immediate neighborhood of the huts, where bananas are kept to ripen and fresh beer is kept until it ferments. The pits are heated before the bananas are stored there. To do this the smoke from the adjacent fire is directed into the pit. Dr. Kandt (1) is

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 390.

undoubtedly referring to these pits when he says that the cellars of the Banyabungu are: "...caves in the shape of butter molds, the walls of which are supported by bent branches and hoops. The hoops starting at the bottom form diminishing concentric circles up to the opening which is wide enough for a man to enter."

[514] Privies seem to be completely unknown in Ruanda.

342 352 [206] Interior of the Hut. The interiors of the huts in Kissaka differ from those in Kiziba in that there are no fixed, woven partitions. When you enter the hut, you seem to be confronted by a finely woven wall, but on closer observation this turns out to be a row of uprights. Stiff rectangular mats are wedged in between them and bent outward. The mats are woven somewhat like the baskets; they are 2 meters long and 40 centimeters wide and usually sealed with cow dung. This wall separates the anteroom (umuriango) from the hearth section. On the left side is an opening which forms a narrow entrance to the interior of the hut. The position of this opening seems to be reminiscent of the arrangement in the Bakondjo huts. However, this opening can also be directly opposite the entrance, as is generally the case among the Batutsi.

352 Along the wall of the hearth section, usually to one side of the entrance, is the bench for the milk vessels. This is about 40 centimeters wide, 40 centimeters high, and up to 2 meters long

000 the knives used by Babira women.

251 Boiled food forms the basis of the diet; however, corn, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are also baked.

262 The Batutsi's favorite dish is beaten sour milk, kivuguto. The Batutsi maintain that they live exclusively on beer, milk, and meat, but sureptitiously they also eat peas (maharagi), beans, millet mush (umutsima), eleusine (buro), gourds, and bananas. On the other hand, they seem to scorn sweet potatoes. This may not be altogether true, however. The Batutsi repeatedly tried to convince me that their diet was entirely different from that of the Bahutu, but this does not seem to be the case.

The diet of the Bahutu, as one would expect among the poorer people, is more monotonous, with less milk and meat and more umutsima, peas, and sweet potatoes. Fish is a very important part of the diet of north Ruanda.

264 [215] The Batutsi eat solid food only once a day, in the evening. They eat with their women, whereas they drink only with men of their own social position.

The Bahutu eat twice a day, between one and two in the afternoon and between eight and nine in the evening. In Mulera people also eat in the morning. This applies only to the men, since women and children eat all day long. The Batwa, too, are constantly eating, whenever they have a chance. It is said of them: balandwa uk imga, "they hunt like dogs."

Chapter 10

Family Affairs

595 The Family. The number of persons in a family, in the narrower sense of the term, varies a great deal in Ruanda. It includes the father, his wives, and children.

Since the woman represents a worker primarily, the number of women in a man's household may be regarded as the measure of his wealth. The poor cannot keep a wife, those of limited means only one, and the wealthy minority two or even several wives. This is why the Batutsi have more wives than the Bahutu.

194 initiate, eat with him, and warm some water which is poured
575 into the pot that contained the beer sacrificed to Ryangombe during the initiation. The water is drunk by the family of the new initiate. Afterward the bananas collected on the early morning visits (kusega) are put in the underground warming place in order to ripen. After a few days, when the beer made from these bananas is ready, acquaintances come for a visit, and they are all served this beer (nzoga).

In this manner the candidate achieves the lower stage of initiation. He has become rusingu. Many remain here and do not go any higher.

In Batutsi initiation ceremonies, a cow is killed on this occasion. When the cow has fallen, the mubandwa, the muhiruka, and the candidate --these are always the three active persons -- place themselves on the fallen cow, one after the other. This ceremony is known as kwitonda gira. Only after that is the animal cut up and the meat divided among those present.

If a person who has been initiated wishes to rise higher in the hierarchy, if he wants to be a mubandwa instead of a rusingu, he goes to the "father" who initiated him [312] and asks for further initiation. If the "father" approves, a meeting is called for this purpose. The candidate, as on the first occasion, provides beer and food. Again, of course, the profane are excluded. Similar ceremonies are carried out, and the candidate is squirted with beer. This time, however, the tests are hard, and since only reliable and chosen people are admitted to the higher initiation, these ceremonies are still more mysterious. The candidates are always refused several times and admitted only at the third or fourth meeting. The one newly initiated must swear that he will not betray the secrets of the association nor in any way misuse the confidence placed in him. In taking the oath, the candidate touches the objects consecrated to Ryangombe, such as the crown, the bell, and others. After the ceremony the newly initiated member is accompanied home by the older members. All participants in this festive procession carry branches of the fig tree in their hands. From then on the newly initiated member has the right to sacrifice to Ryangombe, to introduce candidates to the secret society, and to be present at all the ceremonies. Having

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562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food
[574] in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
517] planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415] water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard
[356] and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that
[252] night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava, or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than
[574] cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to
564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the
593 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will